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Analyses of data obtained from 790 questionnaires collected from a sample of public high school seniors in a relatively low income, sparsely settled county in northern New York State in May, 1962, revealed some of the effects of 2 family systems--the immediate family and the extended family--on the migration planning of high school seniors. Hypotheses were formulated and tested with regard to the family functions of social-psychological support, economic support, and communication with relatives in other communities. When family members or relatives performed these functions, planning by youth to migrate was significantly more likely than when no family member performed these functions. Migration planning was also more likely when both family systems, rather than one, performed the functions. Little confirmation was given to the proposition that the immediate family was more important than other relatives in effecting plans to migrate. It was emphasized that while attachment to the immediate family was a barrier to migration, family support could overcome its effects. (SW)

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FAMILY FACTORS IN MIGRATION PLANS OF YOUTH

HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS IN ST. LAWRENCE COUNTY, NEW YORK

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SUMMARY

This bulletin presents findings from a study of the performance of various facilitating functions of the family of orientation and other relatives in the migration planning of high school seniors. The data for analysis came from 790 questionnaires collected from a sample of public high school seniors in a relatively low income county in northern New York State in May, 1962.

The functions of social-psychological support, economic support and communication outpost are conceived as facilitating plans of youth for migration from the home community of residence. Three operational measures of the social-psychological support function, one operational measure of the economic support function and two operational measures of the communication-outpost function are used.

Three hypotheses are tested by relating performance or non-performance of the functions by family members to migration plans. The first hypothesis concerns the general importance of the family systems. The second is an examination of the cumulative effect of two family systems -- the family of orientation and the extended family. The third is a test of the relative importance of the family of orientation and the extended family (defined here as other relatives).

An investigation of the hypothesis about the general importance of the family revealed that when family members from one or both systems (family of orientation and/or other relatives) performed the social-psychological support, economic support and communication-outpost functions, planning by youth to migrate was significantly more likely than when no family member performed these functions. Performance of these functions was found to be especially important for males (as compared with females)

and for respondents with one or no siblings (as compared with those with two or more). One function, economic support, was found to be unimportant for rural seniors. This raises a question about the importance of providing financial assistance to encourage out-migration of rural youth.

The second hypothesis tested was that migration planning is more likely when both family systems, rather than one, perform the functions. This hypothesis, here called one of cumulative effect, also gained a substantial amount of support. Five out of the six operational measures provided evidence that was in the direction predicted and was statistically significant. For the sixth measure, statistical support was denied but the predicted direction prevailed.

In a third section of the analysis, the focus was on the importance of the family of orientation compared with other relatives in performing the major functions. Not much confirmation was given to the proposition that the family of orientation is more important than other relatives in effecting plans to migrate. For only three of the six measures were the results in the predicted direction and significant. In the three instances where support of the hypothesis was provided, controlled analysis showed the family of orientation to be more important for farm and open-country nonfarm youth and for youth expressing a negative or undecided opinion with regard to the norm of becoming independent of parents.

Whether support from the family of orientation can overcome seniors' attachment to this system was the problem of the fourth section of the analysis. A four-item attachment index was developed. Utilizing

the three operational measures of social-psychological support and the single operational measure of economic support, a large amount of credence was given to the proposition that youth with high attachment to the family or orientation and with support from this system to migrate (or those with low attachment) are more inclined to plan to migrate than those with high attachment and no support for migration. Thus, it can be emphasized that while attachment (as defined in this research) to the immediate family is a barrier to planning to migrate, family support can overcome its effects.

Of the 790 high school seniors included in the study, 17 percent had plans to migrate from their home community immediately after graduation, 25 percent had plans for deferred migration, and 11 percent did not plan to migrate. In addition, 24 percent were undecided about their migration plans, and the information for another 23 percent did not permit classification into one of the major categories of migration plans.

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OFL-65-622

FAMILY FACTORS IN MIGRATION PLANS OF YOUTH: HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS IN ST. LAWRENCE COUNTY, NEW YORK

by

Charles O. Crawford*

I. INTRODUCTION

Geographical mobility is a characteristic of modern America, with mobility of resources, both human and non-human, being essential for the optimum functioning of our industrialized society. People change residence quite often, usually for reasons of employment. By so doing they are in a position to make a greater contribution to society.

The family plays no small part in the migration of individuals, a number of studies showing the family to be an important source of various forms of aid in actual migration behavior planning (1,2,6, 8,12,13). Those migrating rely on family members for knowledge of new situations and employment opportunities, for help in general adjustment to new surroundings, and for various kinds of support for migration.

The research reported here tested some propositions adapted from Eugene Litwak's discussion of the relationship between the family and mobility (9). He suggested that the extended family performs functions

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of providing social-psychological and economic support and providing lines of communication if family members have migrated.

Although Litwak's discussion centered on the functions of the extended family for the migration of the nuclear family unit, the functions he considers would also seem applicable to analyses of the functions of both the extended family and the nuclear family in the migration of individual family members. Such analyses would provide more elaboration on the relationship of family structure and mobility.

This bulletin presents highlights from a study of "facilitating" functions of the family of orientation and the extended family in the migration plans of young people.[a/] The functions asserted as facilitating migration planning are those suggested by Litwak: (1) social-psychological support, (2) economic support, and (3) communication outpost.

Also presented are results of an examination of specific forms of the proposition that family support for migration can overcome attachment to the family of orientation.

The findings of the study have implications for two substantive sociological areas: family sociology, where the changing structure of the family in a modern industrialized society has been discussed (11,14); and the sociology of youth, where factors influencing young people's plans are considered (3,4).

II. HYPOTHESES

There were three major hypotheses guiding the research: (1) the

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[a/] The more detailed aspects of the study can be found in reference 5.

hypothesis of the general importance of both family systems, (2) the hypothesis of the cumulative effect of both family systems, and (3) the hypothesis of the importance of the family of orientation vs. the extended family. These three hypotheses were applied to operational measures of the three functions under consideration (social-psychological support, economic support and communication outpost). That is, for each of the operational measures of the three major functions, it was determined whether: migration planning was more likely when the function was performed by members from both family systems rather than by no family members (general importance hypothesis); migration planning was more likely when the function was performed by both systems rather than one (cumulative effect hypothesis); and whether migration planning was more likely when the function was performed by the family of orientation rather than by the extended family (hypothesis of importance of family of orientation).

In addition to testing the above three hypotheses, the hypothesis was also tested that seniors with high attachment to their families of orientation and support from this system to migrate, or those with low attachment, were more likely to plan to migrate than those with high attachment to the family of orientation but receiving no support from this system to migrate.[b/]

[b/] One additional set of hypotheses tested but not reported here considered the question of whether the proportion of siblings away from home and those away 100 or more miles made for a difference in migration plans. The hypotheses were supported but there was uncertainty as to the interpretation (5:110-114).

III. OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF VARIABLES

Dependent Variable

Migration Plans

The dependent variable of the study, migration plans, was indexed by use of a number of systematically arranged questions designed to uncover the residence plans of seniors. The over-all objective was to identify those respondents who clearly had plans for residing outside their communities of residence upon graduation. Migration plans were classified into four major categories.

Immediate migration plans consisted of plans to be living away from the community upon graduation for reasons of getting work (75 percent of immediate migration plans), getting married (15 percent of immediate migration plans) and other reasons (10 percent). These were interpreted as plans for settling down outside the home community rather immediately. Respondents with immediate migration plans comprised 17 percent of the study sample.

Deferred migration plans were those of respondents who did not plan to return to the community for permanent residence after going to school or college (84 percent of deferred migrants), or after entering the armed services (16 percent of deferred migrants). Of the 790 seniors in the sample, 25 percent had planned deferred migration.

Respondents who indicated they planned to return to their communities after further schooling or armed service duty, or who planned not to leave their communities at all, were classified as having non-migration plans (11 percent of the total sample). In this report these

are classified as "other."

Also included in the "other" category of this report are respondents who were undecided about migration plans (24 percent of the sample) and respondents whose plans for migration were unclassified (23 percent of the sample).

Independent Variables

Four independent variables are considered in this bulletin. These are the three family functions (social-psychological support, economic support and communication outpost) and the family attachment variable.

Social-Psychological Support Function

Performance or nonperformance of this function was operationally measured by three types of suggestions made by family members. The suggestions were: (1) suggestions for leaving the community, (2) suggestions for looking for work outside the community, and (3) suggestions for looking for a specific job outside the community.

Economic Support Function

Performance or nonperformance of this function was operationally measured by offering of money from family members to leave communities.

Communication Outpost Function

Performance or nonperformance of this function was operationally measured by use of two questions. One inquired as to whether respondents had family members in other communities asking them to come and live with them and look for work where they lived (the "invitation" form), and the other ascertained whether respondents had family members

in other communities who were in close contact with their families (the "contact" form).

For all three of the above functions in their six specific forms, data were available as to whether they were performed by members of the family of orientation only, by other relatives only, by both of these systems, or by neither system.

Attachment to Family of Orientation

Four items in the questionnaire were used to construct an internally consistent index which served as an operational measure of family attachment. [c/] The items selected concerned: (1) frequency of family's eating daily main meal together, (2) how seriously the respondent would consider taking a job away from home if it meant he would see his parents and brothers and sisters only once or twice a year, (3) number of activities done with parents and siblings at home one or more times during the four-week period prior to the filling out of the questionnaire, and (4) choosing between family and friends for an evening of activity.

IV. PROCEDURE

A questionnaire was designed to gather information from high school seniors on family variables as well as other variables. Available resources permitted administration of the questionnaire to 826 of the 1,182 seniors enrolled in the 18 public high schools of St. Lawrence County,

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[c/] A detailed description of the development of the four-item attachment index can be found in reference 5, Appendix A, pp. 157-162.

New York during May, 1962. Of the 826 questionnaires obtained, 790 were determined usable.[d/]

Although seniors from all 18 schools were represented, schools with smaller senior classes were over-represented, and those with larger senior classes were under-represented.[e/] Within the sample, 32 percent of the respondents were classified as urban, 24 percent as village, 30 percent as open-country nonfarm, and 14 percent as farm.

The sample contained 48 percent males and 52 percent females.

St. Lawrence County, an area where out-migrating has occurred and may be expected to take place, is large in land area and sparsely populated. Compared to other counties in New York State, St. Lawrence has a strong agricultural industry, with dairy farms high in number but low in sales per farm. There is a substantial amount of mining activity and some manufacturing. Unemployment of the labor force in the county was reported in the 1960 Census (15) to be at 11.5 percent, a higher rate than that for the State as a whole. The per capita income figure of $1,580 for 1960 placed the county 52nd among the State's 57 upstate counties (10).

V. RESULTS

Results are presented in four major sections - one for each of

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d/ Reasons for discarding questionnaires are given in reference 5, pp. 63-64.

e/ Size of senior class was a variable which could be determined for all respondents in the population. Although it was found to be related to migration planning and was considered in the initial research, it will not be considered in this bulletin. Residence was found to be highly related to size of senior class, and since residence is perhaps more meaningful for purposes of interpretation, it is introduced as a control variable in testing the hypotheses.

the hypotheses to be tested. In each of the first three sections, the major hypothesis being considered will first be tested for the six specific measures of the three major functions without considering control variables. Then, whenever an hypothesis is supported for any of the functions, it will be further examined holding six other variables constant. The fourth hypothesis, concerning attachment, support and migration plans, does not involve any controlled analyses.

The six variables selected as control variables in analyzing the first three hypotheses are: age, sex, residence, father's education, number of siblings, and belief in the norm of parental independence.[f/] Fifteen control variables found to be important in the literature on migration and migration planning were analyzed in the initial phase of the research. Of the 15, the 6 discussed in this bulletin were found to alter the findings the most.[g/]

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f/ The categories of the six variables selected as controls were: age - 16-17 years and 18-21 years; sex - male and female; residence - urban, village, open-country nonfarm, and farm; father's education - less than 12 years and 12 or more years; number of siblings - 0-1 and 2 or more; and belief in norm of becoming independent of parents upon graduation from high school - "yes" and "no" or "uncertain".

g/ The six variables which are asserted as having altered the differences the "most" selected in the following manner:

First, for each difference obtained for a measure supporting the major hypothesis and examined under controlled analysis, the differences obtained in the two or more control categories for each of the fifteen control variables were compared. Whenever a ratio of 1.5 or more was obtained by dividing the larger difference by the smaller, a note of this was made. For example, if for a given measure, say "offering of money to leave," the difference in likelihood of migration planning was 30.0 percent for males and 15.0 percent for females, a ratio of 2.0 was obtained. Thus the performance of this particular function was more important for males than for females. (The ratio of 1.5 was arbitrarily selected, but it was thought to be one which would permit a reasonable determination of relative importance.)

Hypothesis 1: General Importance of Family Systems

In testing this hypothesis, a comparison is made between the percentage of respondents planning to migrate among those having functions performed by one or both family systems and the percentage planning to migrate among those having functions performed by no family members [h] Those

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The second step was to draw up a master chart with the fifteen control variables listed down the left side and the three major hypotheses listed across the top. This resulted in creating 45 cells (15 x 3 = 45). Then into each cell was put the number of times the ratio of differences for the categories of the given control variable for a given hypothesis was 1.5 or more. Once this was done, the third step was to calculate a weighted percentage which reflected the ratio of the number of times a variable actually altered the difference to the number of times it could have altered the difference.

The weights were based on the fact that there were five measures where the general-importance hypothesis could have been altered, four where the cumulative-effect hypothesis could have been altered, and three where the hypothesis about the importance of the family of orientation could have been altered. It should be noted that although there were five measures where the cumulative-effect hypothesis was supported, only four permitted meaningful control analysis. (In one instance the number of cases was extremely small.) Thus, if the distribution for the age variable had been 3, 3, and 3, the weighted ratio of "actual" to "possible" would have been 78.3 percent $\frac{(3/5 + 3/4 + 3/3)\ (100)}{3}$ An unweighted average in this case would be 75.0 percent (9/12 x 100).

The percentages of the selected six variables ranged from 73.3 percent for "belief in norm of independence" to 100.0 percent for residence.

[h] For all tests of significance in the research, the "t" test, as outlined by Howell and Gold (7:98), was used to determine the significance of obtained differences. The formula used to compute the t values (7:102) was:

$$t = \frac{p_1 - p_2}{\sqrt{\frac{p_1\ q_1}{n_1} + \frac{p_2\ q_2}{n_2}}}$$

Since the direction of the differences was predicted, one-tailed probabilities were used. In using these, the required t value at the significance level used (.05) was halved for determining significance. If the obtained t value was greater than one-half that required for a two-tailed test at the .05 level for the appropriate degrees of freedom, the difference was taken as significant.

having members from one or both systems (family of orientation and other relatives) performing the functions were hypothesized as being more likely to plan to migrate than those not having the functions performed by members from either or both of the two systems.

The findings for this hypothesis will relate to earlier research more than will those for other hypotheses tested since most earlier work has been concerned with the family in general as it relates to migration and migration plans rather than the specific family systems.

Social-Psychological Support Function

Measure 1: Suggestions for leaving the community

The general importance hypothesis as applied to suggestions for leaving the community was supported, as will be seen in Table 1. Those respondents receiving suggestions from family members for leaving the community were more than one and one-half times as likely to plan to migrate as those not receiving suggestions. Among those who received suggestions for leaving, 56.6 percent planned to migrate, whereas among those with no suggestions 32.8 percent planned to migrate. The implications of suggestions for leaving are relatively greater for deferred migration plans than for immediate plans.

When controlled analysis was carried out, it was found that this type of suggestion was more important for younger seniors (16-17 years) than for older seniors (18-21 years), for males than for females, for urban and village seniors than for open-country nonfarm and farm seniors, for those whose fathers had 12 or more years of education, for seniors with one or no siblings than for those with two or more siblings, and

Table 1. -- Comparisons Testing Hypothesis of General Importance of Family Systems (Family of Orientation and Other Relatives) on Migration Plans of High School Seniors: St. Lawrence County, New York, 1962.

High School Seniors	Measure of Family Functions and Whether or Not Family System Performed Function											
	Suggestions for:						Offering money to leave community		Family members in other communities:			
	Leaving community		Looking for work outside community		Looking for specific job outside comm.				Asking to come and live		In close contact	
	Family System		Family System		Family System		Family System		Family System		Family System	
	One or both	Neither	One or both	Neither	One or both	Neither	One or both	Neither	One or both	Neither	One or both	Neither
Percent planning:												
Migration	56.6	32.8	53.6	34.1	57.2	42.0	48.1	35.7	45.8	39.9	42.2	40.8
Immediate	20.6	14.3	24.5	11.4	28.6	14.5	17.7	15.3	26.5	11.5	16.9	12.4
Deferred	36.0	18.5	29.1	22.7	28.6	27.5	30.4	20.4	19.3	28.4	25.3	28.4
Other[a]	43.4	67.2	46.4	65.9	42.8	58.0	51.9	64.3	54.2	60.1	57.8	59.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	(297)	(453)	(306)	(449)	(77)	(553)	(368)	(392)	(238)	(514)	(643)	(113)
Difference	+23.8		+19.5		+15.2		+12.4		+ 5.9		+ 1.4	
t	+ 6.35		+ 5.42		+ 1.71		+ 3.48		+ 1.52		+ .58	
d.f.	748		753		650		758		750		754	
p(one-tailed)	< .01		< .01		< .01		< .01		< .01		< .50, > .10	

[a]Other includes non-migration, undecided and unclassified plans.

for seniors who did not believe or were uncertain about believing that young people should become independent of their parents upon graduation from high school than for seniors who did believe this.

Measure 2: Suggestions for looking for work outside community

When the general importance hypothesis was applied to this suggestion, it was again found to be supported, with those receiving suggestions being more likely to plan migration than those not receiving suggestions (Table 1). The proportion of respondents planning to migrate for those with suggestions was 54 percent and for those without suggestions, 34 percent. In contrast to the findings for the preceding measure, suggestions for looking for work outside the community were more important for immediate migration plans.

Introduction of control variables revealed that suggestions for looking for work outside the community were more important for older seniors than for younger ones, for males than females, for urban and farm seniors than for village and open-country nonfarm seniors, for those whose fathers had less than 12 years schooling than for those whose fathers had 12 or more years, for those who had one or no siblings than for those who had two or more, and more important for those who believed in the norm of parental independence than for those who did not believe in the norm.

Measure 3: Suggestions for looking for specific job outside community

Additional support for the general importance hypothesis is obtained when this measure of the social-psychological function is considered (Table 1). The difference in percentage planning to migrate (+15.2 percent)

is in the predicted direction and is significant. Here, as in the case of suggestions for looking for work, the consequences of making suggestions are greater for immediate than for deferred migration plans.

When the proportions were compared, with the six control variables held constant, results indicated that suggestions for looking for a specific job were more important for younger seniors than for older ones, for males than for females, for seniors whose fathers had 12 or more years of education than for those whose fathers had less than 12 years, for seniors with two or more siblings than for those with one or no siblings, and for those who did not believe in the norm of independence than for those who did believe in this norm. The modifying effects of residence could not be fully determined, as there was an insufficient number of cases with complete information.

Thus, one can see that performance of the social-psychological support function (as operationally measured here) by members from one or both family systems did make for a significant difference in migration plans.

Economic Support Function

Measure 4: Offering of money

In Table 1 it will be noted that the proportion of planning to migrate among those receiving offering of money from one or both systems to leave was 48 percent, while the proportion among those not receiving offerings from either or both systems was 36 percent. The difference of +12.4 percent was significant and in the hypothesized direction. Thus further support for the hypothesis of general importance

is obtained. The implications of economic support were greater for deferred migration plans than for immediate migration plans.

Under controlled analysis, offering of money was found to be more important for younger seniors than for older ones, for males than for females, for urban and village seniors than for open-country nonfarm and farm seniors, for those whose fathers had 12 or more years' education than for those whose fathers had less than 12 years, for those who had one or no siblings than for those who had two or more and for those who believed in the norm of parental independence than for those who did not believe in this norm.

The finding that economic support appears to be relatively unimportant in the migration plans of seniors from open-country nonfarm and farm residences raises a question about the conditions under which financial assistance may be most effectively used by public programs designed to encourage out-migration of rural youths.

Communication Outpost Function

Measure 5: Invitation form

The data for this study reveal that when seniors had family members in other communities asking them to come and live with them and look for work they were more likely to plan to migrate than if they did not have any family members performing this function (Table 1).

There is a striking difference in the way performance of this function influences the two specific forms of migration plans. The difference was in the predicted direction for immediate migration plans but was opposed to it for deferred migration plans.

When the effect of this form of the communication-outpost function was examined under controlled analysis, it was observed to be more important for younger seniors than for older ones, for females than for males, for village and open-country nonfarm seniors than for urban and farm seniors, for seniors whose fathers had less than 12 years education than for those whose fathers had 12 or more years, for those who had one or no siblings than for those who had two or more and for those who believed in the norm of independence than for those who did not believe in the norm.

Measure 6: Contact form

When the hypothesis about the general importance of family members was applied to the contact function, it was not supported (Table 1). Whether or not a senior had family members in other communities in contact did not make for a significant difference in migration plans.

With respect to implications for the different types of migration plans - immediate and deferred - the same situation was found for this form as for the invitation form. That is, deferred migration planning was more likely to occur when there were no family members in other communities in close contact, whereas immediate migration was more likely to occur when family members were away and in contact.

Since the general importance hypothesis was not supported when applied to this function, no controlled analysis was carried out.

Summary - Hypothesis 1

Considerable support was obtained for the hypothesis that family

members do play an important part in the migration planning of high school seniors through their performance of social-psychological support, economic support and communication outpost functions.

When controlled analyses of the five supported hypotheses are viewed simultaneously, two control variables stand out as producing consistent effects in four of the five cases. In these cases, family functions were more important for males than for females and more important for seniors with one or no siblings than for those with two or more.

It may well be that for a large part of the females in the sample the influence of the future spouse or other persons is more important than family behavior. As for the sibling effect, one might speculate that for seniors with two or more siblings there may well be a family effect but it is more subtle and unconscious because future plans are talked about more frequently in family discussions. Since the questionnaire relied on conscious recall, the subtle effect of the family may not have been uncovered.

Hypothesis 2: Cumulative Effect

To test the cumulative-effect hypothesis, the procedure was to compare the percentage planning to migrate among those having functions performed by both systems with those having functions performed by only one system. It was hypothesized that those having functions performed by both systems were more likely to plan migration than those having functions performed by only one system.

Social-Psychological Support Function

Measure 1: Suggestions for leaving the community

As will be observed in Table 2, those respondents having suggestions for leaving their communities from both family systems were nearly one and one-half times as likely to plan migration as those who received suggestions from only one system. The respective proportions were 72 percent and 50 percent. The implications for immediate and deferred migration plans were in the same direction.

The over-all difference was found to be substantially modified by all six of the control variables used in this report. Detailed analysis revealed that suggestions from both systems were more important for older seniors than for younger ones, for males than for females, for those whose fathers had 12 or more years' education than for those whose fathers had had less than 12 years, for those who had two or more siblings than for those who had one or none, and for those who did not believe in the norm of independence than for those who did believe in the norm. Although the number of seniors from farms was too small to permit a comparison, the comparisons made for the other three residence categories indicate that suggestions from both systems, rather than only one, were more important for urban and village seniors than for seniors from open-country areas.

Measure 2: Suggestions for looking for work outside community

Data for testing the cumulative-effect hypothesis when applied to this measure are given in Table 2. It will be noted that the difference obtained (+10.7 percent) is not as great as that found in the case

of suggestions for leaving the community (+21.9 percent) but it is in the predicted direction and is significant.

The six control variables selected for this research were found to produce notable variations in the over-all difference. The difference was found to be larger for younger seniors than for older ones, for females than for males, for urban and village seniors than for open-country nonfarm and farm ones, for those whose fathers had 12 or more years' schooling than for those whose fathers had less than 12, for those with two or more siblings than for those with one or none, and for those who believed in the norm of independence than for those who did not believe in it.

Measure 3: Suggestions for looking for a specific job outside community

This measure provided the only case where the cumulative effect hypothesis did not hold (Table 2). It was found that those with suggestions from both systems were significantly less likely to plan to migrate than those with suggestions from only one system. This reversal of the predicted direction was most pronounced among respondents planning immediate migration; in fact, this category of migrants produced all of the reverse effect, since the predicted direction held for deferred migration plans. The effects on the control variables were not investigated, as the theory proposed was not supported in the uncontrolled analysis.

Economic Support Function

Measure 4: Offering of money

Performance of the economic support function by both systems rather

Table 2. -- Comparisons Testing Hypothesis of Cumulative Effect of Both Family Systems (Family of Orientation and Other Relatives) on Migration Plans of High School Seniors: St. Lawrence County, New York, 1962.

High school seniors	Measure of Family Functions and Number of Family Systems Performing Function											
	Suggestions for:						Offering money to leave community		Family members in other communities:			
	Leaving community		Looking for work outside community		Looking for specific job outside comm.				Asking to come and live		In close contact	
	Family system		Family system		Family system		Family system		Family system		Family system	
	Both	One only	Both	One only	Both	One only	Both	One only	Both	One only	Both	One only
Percent planning:												
Migration	71.9	50.0	61.4	50.7	50.0	59.0	56.4	46.7	57.9	44.7	47.7	40.5
Immediate	24.7	18.7	28.9	22.9	6.2	34.4	18.2	17.6	42.1	25.1	19.2	16.3
Deferred	47.2	31.3	32.5	27.8	43.8	24.6	38.2	29.1	15.8	19.6	28.5	24.2
Other[a]	28.2	50.0	38.6	49.3	50.0	41.0	43.6	53.3	42.1	53.3	52.3	59.5
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	(89)	(208)	(83)	(223)	(16)	(61)	(55)	(313)	(19)	(219)	(151)	(492)
Difference	+21.9		+10.7		-9.0		+9.7		+13.2		+7.2	
t	+3.73		+1.70		-1.21		+1.35		+2.69		+1.56	
d.f.	295		304		75		426		236		641	
p (one-tailed)	$< .01$		$< .01$		$< .02, > .01$		$< .01$		$< .01$		$< .01$	

[a]Other includes non-migration, undecided and unclassified plans.

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than by only one was found to make for a significantly greater likelihood of migration plans (Table 2). The direction of the difference was the same for both immediate and deferred migration plans.

Although economic support from both systems did in general make migration planning more likely than support from one system, controlled analysis revealed that the cumulative effect was greater for older seniors than for younger ones, for males than for females, for urban and village seniors than for open-country nonfarm and farm seniors, for those whose fathers had 12 or more years of schooling than for those whose fathers had less than 12, for those with one or no siblings than for those with two or more, and for those who believed in the norm of independence than for those who did not.

Communication Outpost Function

Measure 5: Invitation form

An inspection of the data in Table 2 reveals that the cumulative effect hypothesis obtains support when this measure is considered. Those respondents having the function performed by both systems were about one and one-third times more likely to plan migration from their communities than those having the function performed by only one system. But it needs to be noted that the implications of performance by both systems, as opposed to performance by one, are in the predicted direction only for immediate migration plans. Deferred migration plans were more likely among those having performance by only one system.

Unfortunately, there were too few respondents with performance of this function by both systems to make any controlled analysis.

Measure 6: Contact form

In the case of this form of the communication-outpost function, the cumulative-effect hypothesis was again supported (Table 2). The difference was in the predicted direction for both immediate and deferred migration plans.

Results from controlled analysis indicated that the cumulative effect was stronger for younger seniors than for older ones, for females than for males, for urban and farm seniors than for village or open-country nonfarm seniors, for those whose fathers had less than 12 years schooling than for those whose fathers had 12 or more, for those with one or no siblings than for those with 2 or more, and for those who believed in the norm of independence than for those who did not believe in this norm.

Summary - Hypothesis 2

In general, then, this study provides substantial evidence for the assertion that there is a cumulative effect in the influence that the family of orientation and the extended family have on migration planning of young people through their performance of the social-psychological support, economic support and communication outpost functions. In all but one of the six measures tested, planning to migrate was significantly more likely when performance was by both systems rather than by one.

Under controlled analysis, two variables produced rather consistent alterations in the over-all difference. In all four of the instances where controlled comparisons were made, there was considerable evidence

that the cumulative effect was stronger for seniors whose fathers had 12 or more years of schooling, relative to those whose fathers had less, and stronger for those who believed in the norm of parental independence, relative to those who disbelieved or were undecided.

A question which seems to follow from the analyses presented thus far is whether the family of orientation or the extended family is more important in the performance of the three major functions being analyzed. A tentative answer to this question is given in the following section.

Hypothesis 3: Importance of Family of Orientation vs. Other Relatives

In the initial formulation of the research problem, it was argued that if the relative importance of the extended family tends to decline in an industrial society, and if the relative importance of family of orientation tends to increase, one would expect migration plans to be more likely when performance of the three major functions is by the family of orientation only than when performance is by other relatives only.

As will soon be seen in the discussion below, the results of this study cast doubt on the above argument. The family of orientation was found to be significantly more important than other relatives in performance of three of the operational measures - suggestions for leaving the community and the two forms of the communication-outpost function (invitation and contact). For a fourth operational measure - suggestions for looking for a specific job outside the community - the hypothesis could not be tested statistically, but what difference did exist was in

the direction of refuting the hypothesis (Table 3). For two other measures - suggestions for looking for work outside the community and offering of money to leave the community - the hypothesis about the importance of the family of orientation did not obtain statistical support (Table 3).

Findings for the three measures where the hypothesis was supported are discussed below.

Measure 1: Suggestions for leaving community

As the data in Table 3 indicate, planning to migrate was significantly more likely when suggestions for leaving the community came from the family of orientation only rather than from other relatives only. More than half of those with suggestions only from the family of orientation planned to migrate, while only slightly more than a third of those with suggestions only from other relatives planned to migrate.

In controlled analysis it was observed that the family of orientation was more important for younger seniors than for older ones, for females than for males, for those whose fathers had 12 or more years of schooling than for those whose fathers had less than 12 years, and for those with a negative or undecided opinion about the norm of independence than for those with a positive opinion.

The effect of number of siblings and of residence are difficult to determine, since the number of cases was insufficient for meaningful analysis. However, the case for farm youth is rather noteworthy. Those farm youth with suggestions only from the family of orientation were almost four times as likely to plan to migrate as those with support

only from other relatives. Evidently, support from the family of orientation is extremely important for farm youth.

Measure 5: Invitation form of communication outpost function

The extent to which the hypothesis of the importance of the family of orientation is supported, when applied to this function, can be ascertained from the data in Table 3. Of those with performance by the family of orientation only, 53 percent planned to migrate, whereas among those with performance by other relatives only, 41 percent planned to migrate.

When control variables were imposed and the differences analyzed, it was found that the family of orientation was more important for younger seniors than for older ones, for females than for males, for open-country nonfarm and farm youth than for village and urban seniors, for those whose fathers had less than 12 years of education than for those whose fathers had 12 or more years, for those with one or no siblings than for those who had two or more, and for those who indicated "no" or "undecided" in answer to the question about belief in the norm of independence than for those who expressed a positive belief about the norm.

Measure 6: Contact form of communication outpost function

Although the difference obtained in this case is relatively small (+ 6.6 percent) and the chance probability of the "t" value is a little greater than some others obtained, the results are still significant and in the predicted direction (Table 3).

In controlled analysis, the difference was found to be greater for

Table 3. -- Comparisons Testing Hypothesis of Importance of Family of Orientation vs. the Extended Family on Migration Plans of High School Seniors: St. Lawrence County, New York, 1962.

High school seniors	Measure of Family Functions and Which Family System Performed Function											
	Suggestions for:						Offering money to leave community		Family members in other communities:			
	Leaving community		Looking for work outside community		Looking for specific job outside comm.				Asking to come and live		In close contact	
	Family system		Family system		Family system		Family system		Family system		Family system	
	F.O.[a] only	O.R.[b] only	F.O. only	O.R. only	F.O. only	O.R. only	F.O. only	O.R. only	F.O. only	O.R. only	F.O. only	O.R. only
Percent planning:												
Migration	52.3	37.4	51.4	48.0	58.5	62.5	46.1	51.4	53.0	41.2	45.4	38.8
Immediate	18.7	18.7	22.5	24.0	32.1	50.0	16.8	24.2	31.8	22.2	21.8	14.4
Deferred	33.6	18.7	28.9	24.0	26.4	12.5	29.3	27.2	21.2	19.0	23.6	24.4
Other[c]	47.7	62.6	48.6	52.0	41.5	37.5	54.9	48.6	47.0	58.8	54.7	61.2
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	(176)	(32)	(173)	(50)	(53)	(8)	(280)	(33)	(66)	(153)	(119)	(373)
Difference	+14.9		+3.4		-4.0		-5.3		+11.8		+6.6	
t	+1.59		+.42				-.58		+1.61		+1.27	
d.f.	206		221		d		313		217		490	
p (one-tailed)	<.01		<.50, >.10				<.50, >.10		<.01		<.02, >.01	

[a]"F.O." signifies "Family of Orientation."

[b]"O.R." signifies "Other Relatives."

[c]"Other" includes non-migration, undecided, and unclassified plans.

[d]Only 8 respondents had O.R. support only, so tests of difference between proportions cannot be applied (7:95).

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older seniors than for younger ones, for males than for females, for open-country nonfarm and farm seniors than for village or urban seniors, for those whose fathers had less than 12 years of schooling than for those whose fathers had 12 or more years, for those with two or more siblings than for those who had one or none, and for those who expressed negative or undecided feelings about the norm of independence than for those who believed in the norm.

Summary - Hypothesis 3

Two general observations can be made from controlled analysis of the hypothesis of the importance of the family of orientation for the three operational measures. First, for all three measures carried into controlled analysis, the family of orientation appears to be more important for rural youth than for village and urban youth.

Second, also for all three measures, the family of orientation appears to be more important for youth who expressed a negative or undecided opinion about the norm of independence. A seemingly logical explanation of this latter finding is that if a young person does not feel he should become independent of his parents (or if he is undecided about his feelings), then the family of orientation (a significant part of which is parents) is the only system likely to influence plans to leave home and community. That is, if he feels dependent upon his parents, then their attitudes and behavior towards migration plans need to be pro-migration before migration is planned.

Hypothesis 4: Attachment to and Support from the Family of Orientation and Migration Plans

Goldsmith and Beegle (6) have argued that one important question to be answered with respect to migration plans of young people is whether support from significant "alters" for migration can overcome attachment to these alters. They chose parents as the significant alters and found that support from parents for migration can overcome loyalty attachments. One can question their measure of attachment, but the idea proposed and the results they found would appear to make a contribution.

The hypothesis tested in this research is that seniors with high attachment to their family of orientation and with support for migration from this system, and also those with low attachment, are more likely to plan to migrate than those with high attachment and no support for migration.

The important part of the above proposition is that dealing with seniors who have high attachment to their family of orientation. If the assumption is valid that seniors with low attachment are more likely to plan to migrate than those with high attachment, then an important question arises as to whether support can overcome the high attachment inhibiting migration planning. If this question is found to be answered in the affirmative, then certainly any generalization about attachment and migration must consider whether any support for migration is forthcoming.

The assumption concerning attachment and migration plans was investigated, and it was found that those seniors with low attachment to the family of orientation were in fact significantly more likely to

plan to migrate than those with high attachment.[i/]

In testing this hypothesis, "support" is measured by support from the family of orientation only and by support from the family of orientation and other relatives combined. The second combined form is included so as to pick up any partial support from the family of orientation. "Nonsupport" is defined as support from other relatives only or from no family members.

Social-Psychological Support

From the data in Tables 4 and 5, one can readily see that social-psychological support from the family of orientation can overcome attachment. Those who had high attachment scores but received suggestions to leave or suggestions to look for work outside the community were significantly more likely to plan to migrate than those with high attachment but no suggestions. Those with low attachment were also significantly more likely to plan to migrate than those with high attachment and no support.

In the case of suggestions for looking for a specific job outside the community, the difference in likelihood of migration planning between the high attachment-support and high attachment-no support group was in the predicted direction but not large enough to be significant (Table 6). However, the low attachment group was significantly more likely to plan migration than the high attachment-no support group.

[i/] The test of this assumption can be found in reference 5, pp. 103-104.

Table 4. -- Respondents Classified by Degree of Attachment to Family of Orientation, by Receipt of Suggestions from Family of Orientation for Leaving the Community and by Migration Plans: High School Seniors, St. Lawrence County, New York, 1962.

Migration plans of respondents	Attachment-suggestion categories			Total
	High attachment, with suggestions	Low attachment	High attachment, no suggestions	
	percent			
Migration	55.1 (p_1)	50.2 (p_2)	28.4 (p_3)	42.2
Immediate	(16.9)	(21.6)	(11.6)	(16.6)
Deferred	(38.2)	(28.6)	(16.8)	(25.6)
Other	44.9	49.8	71.6	57.8
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	(136)	(283)	(292)	(711)[a]
	p_1-p_3 = +26.7		p_2-p_3 = +21.8	
t	+5.34		+5.49	
d.f.	426		573	
p (one-tailed)	<.01		<.01	

[a]No information on attachment index score or specific family function for 79 cases.

Table 5. -- Respondents Classified by Degree of Attachment to Family of Orientation, by Receipt of Suggestions from Family of Orientation to Look for Work Outside the Community, and by Migration Plans: High School Seniors, St. Lawrence County, New York, 1962.

Migration plans of respondents	Attachment-suggestion categories			Total
	High attachment, with suggestions	Low attachment	High attachment, no suggestions	
	percent			
Migration	46.5 (p_1)	49.6 (p_2)	32.1 (p_3)	41.8
Immediate	(22.6)	(20.4)	(9.6)	(16.4)
Deferred	(23.9)	(29.3)	(22.5)	(25.4)
Other	53.5	50.4	67.9	58.2
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	(142)	(280)	(293)	(715)[a]
	p_1-p_3 = +14.4		p_2-p_3 = +17.5	
t	+2.88		+4.33	
d.f.	433		571	
p (one-tailed)	<.01		<.01	

[a]No information on attachment index score or specific family functions for 75 cases.

Economic Support

It is clear from the data in Table 7 that those respondents with high attachment to and economic support from the family of orientation, or those with low attachment, were significantly more likely to plan migration than those with high attachment and no support.

Thus, using the measures available in this research, one is led to conclude that at least two kinds of support from the family of orientation can overcome the attachment of young people to that system. For two out of the three operational measures of social-psychological support the hypothesis was statistically supported. For the third measure it was not statistically supported, but the difference was in the predicted direction. With regard to economic support the hypothesis was further sustained. This means that, over all, three out of four measures showed support definitely overcame attachment and one measure showed support only slightly overcame attachment.

Table 6. --Respondents Classified by Degree of Attachment to Family of Orientation, by Receipt of Suggestions from Family of Orientation to Look for Specific Job Outside the Community, and by Migration Plans: High School Seniors, St. Lawrence County, New York, 1962

Migration plans of respondents	Attachment-suggestion categories			Total
	High attachment, with suggestions	Low attachment	High attachment, no suggestions	
	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - percent - - - - - - - - - -			- - - -
Migration	40.5 (p_1)	52.2 (p_2)	37.9 (p_3)	43.5
Immediate	(31.0)	(20.2)	(11.1)	(15.9)
Deferred	(9.5)	(32.0)	(26.8)	(27.6)
Other	59.5	47.8	62.1	56.5
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	(42)	(228)	(332)	(602)[a]
	p_1-p_3 = +2.6		p_2-p_3 = +14.3	
t	+ .33		+3.40	
d.f.	372		558	
p (one-tailed)	>.50		< .01	

[a]No information on attachment index score, family function or place of job suggested for 188 cases.

Table 7. -- Respondents Classified by Degree of Attachment to Family of Orientation, by Offering of Money Assistance by Family of Orientation to Leave the Community, and by Migration Plans: High School Seniors, St. Lawrence County, New York, 1962.

Migration plans of respondents	Attachment-offering categories			Total
	High attachment, with offering	Low attachment	High attachment, no offering	
	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - percent - - - - - - - - - -			- - - -
Migration	41.3 (p_1)	48.8 (p_2)	32.5 (p_3)	41.6
Immediate	(15.2)	(19.9)	(12.4)	(16.2)
Deferred	(26.1)	(28.8)	(20.1)	(25.4)
Other	58.7	51.3	67.5	58.4
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	(230)	(281)	(209)	(720)[a]
	p_1-p_3 = +8.8		p_2-p_3 = +16.3	
t	+1.91		+3.70	
d.f.	437		488	
p (one-tailed)	<.01		<.01	

[a]No information on attachment index score or family function for 70 cases.

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